Volume 6, No. 2 Fifth Month (May), 1915

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Anti-Slavery Separation in Indiana, and the "Henry Clay Incident" in 1842 ..... Harlow Lindley 34

A Visit to Daniel Webster in 1836 ..... Joseph Foulke 49

An Anecdote of Thomas Shillitoe 50

Testimonial of Select School to Sarah Eddy, 1804 52

"Elizabeth Hooton," First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672) 53

Death of George Vaux (1832-1915) 55

Annual Meeting of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1915 56

Officers of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia for 1915-1916 57

Books of Interest to Friends ..... The Editor 58

Notes and Queries 63

NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

All dues and subscriptions should be paid to Mary S. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, 24 West Street, Media, Pa.

Subscriptions, $1.00 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SEPARATION IN INDIANA AND THE "HENRY CLAY INCIDENT" IN 1842.

BY HARLOW LINDLEY.

For five or six years prior to 1840, the legislatures of the Northwestern States had busied themselves in passing resolutions condemning the abolition movement and increasing the severity of the Black Laws. All such movements, however, had only served to increase the zeal and determination of the Abolitionists. In addition to the state and local anti-slavery societies, an Abolition party movement had begun to form by 1840 in the new "Liberty Party."

A confused state of affairs soon followed, and the slavery agitation increased. The "Protectionist" said that the means employed by the pro-slavery party to put down abolitionists were "slander, persecution, legislative bulls, ecclesiastical anathemas, tar and feathers, rotten eggs, bowie knives, fire and murder."[1] There were various shades of pro-slavery sentiment throughout Indiana, as well as various degrees of anti-slavery views. Some favored one thing, some another, and some were not sure about anything. The shifting order of events broke into church organizations. Even as conscientious a body as the Indiana Yearly Meeting did not escape the consequences. It suffered a separation in its ranks while in the midst of the important work it was doing.

In bringing up the causes leading to the separation, it will be necessary to go back a few years in the history of the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting had opposed the colonization scheme in 1839. However, this was not the first expression on the subject. In an epistle in 1836 the meeting advised the members against the "unrighteous work of expatriation." The same epistle called attention to the work being done by those not belonging to the Society, and urged Friends not to "cast any discouragements in the way of such as are faithfully laboring to

[1] *The Protectionist,* February 16, 1841.

promote universal emancipation." The next year Friends were again urged on in the following language: "We do not wish any to engage in active measures on any other ground than a sense of duty, and in accordance with our well-known principles, yet we would encourage all to a close examination as to what is required at their hands, and how they may employ the talents committed to them for noble purposes in the advancement of the blessed work of emancipation, by meekly, yet boldly, either publicly or privately, pleading the cause of the oppressed." The anti-slavery Friends claimed that these and similar expressions gave them permission and encouraged them to join abolition societies if they saw fit to do so. At any rate, many of them did join, and soon became quite active in the promotion and work of these societies.

By 1840, however, there had grown up in the Yearly Meeting an opposition to the part Friends were taking in the abolition societies. This, no doubt, had come about as a result of the general agitation of the slavery question, and the extreme opposition and protest brought to bear throughout the state, against the abolitionists and their work. At any rate, Friends were advised not to join other anti-slavery societies. This aroused quite a feeling on the part of the more radical members who had become so actively engaged in the anti-slavery cause.

Finally, Friends were advised not to allow anti-slavery meetings to be held in their meeting houses. In the Minutes of 1840 we find the following: "Information having reached this meeting that some of our meeting-houses have been opened for the purpose of holding anti-slavery meetings and delivering lectures, we feel concerned to advise against such a practice, as being contrary to the general usage of society, and of hurtful tendency to our members." In this same report of the meeting for sufferings is to be found another passage to which anti-slavery Friends pointed as being a proof that the leaders of the Yearly Meeting were being influenced by politicians. It ran thus: "We desire that all may faithfully maintain this Christian testimony, and cherish a lively interest both for the oppressed and the oppressors. Thus maintaining our peaceable and Christian prin-

ciples in unbroken harmony, we shall, we believe, be enabled as way may open, more availingly to plead the cause of this much injured race of our fellow men; and retain the place and influence, which as a society, we have heretofore had with *the rulers of our land.*" The breach, which had been gradually widening between the two divisions of the society was now increased. Various means of persuasion were used to induce the members to submit to the rulings of the Yearly Meeting.

The Protectionists said that "Friends' meeting houses in many parts of the state are the only public buildings that have been opened, or that can now be obtained, for assembling the people to listen to the recital of the story of the wrongs of the slave, and to have their sympathies aroused by the presentation of truth, and that, by the decision of the Yearly Meeting in an attempt to close the meeting houses to anti-slavery meetings, 'the advocates of this most righteous cause' are literally shut out from this field of labor to a very great extent."

Previous to 1842 it appears that a scheme had been arranged, the purpose of which was either to force members to submit to the rulings of the organization in power, or to increase the control of this organization by removing certain objectionable members from important positions in the Yearly Meeting. The following extract from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings seems to indicate this: "At a Meeting for Sufferings of Indiana Yearly Meeting, held October 1, 1842. The committee appointed at last meeting to examine the list of names of our members report that they have attended thereto, and after a time of solid consideration thereon, are united in judgment, that Benjamin Stanton, Jacob Grave, William Locke and Charles Osborn have become disqualified for usefulness in this body, which being weightily considered was united with." In all, eight radical abolitionists were thus removed from positions on business committees.

This step, which seems to have been directed against the radicals, proved fatal to the unity of the Yearly Meeting.

The same meeting (1842) sent out an Epistle of Advice to the subordinate meetings and members, warning them not to join

or take part in the "excitement and over-active zeal of the Anti-slavery Societies." The subordinate meetings were also advised "to be weighty and deliberate in making appointments to any of the important stations and committees in the Society, so that faithful and trusty Friends may be chosen; as we believe that those who have distinguished themselves by opposition or disregard to the advices and travail of the body, are manifestly unsuitable for important services in it, while they remain in that position."

A marked division in the membership of the Yearly Meeting was now evident. Those who felt aggrieved attempted to hold a conference in the building after the close of the meeting, but were immediately told to leave the building. Being thus driven out of the temple by the "Scribes and Pharisees," as the anti-slavery members thought, they set a meeting for the next day to be held at Newport, ten miles north of Richmond. A conference was accordingly held. They decided to meet and confer at different times in various places, and in the meantime to watch closely the general drift of affairs. Finally losing hope of any retraction on the part of the Yearly Meeting organization, they decided to call a convention at Newport, January 4, 1843. The convention met, however, on February 6, 1843, gave out the following declaration and organized a Yearly Meeting:

"In consequence of the departure of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends from the true and genuine principles of the Society in regard to our testimony against slavery, and because of its arbitrary, proscriptive, and unchristian measures; a meeting of Anti-slavery Friends convened at Newport, Wayne County, Indiana, and after giving the subject a serious and deliberate examination, it was the unanimous conclusion that the circumstances under which we are now placed, as members of that body, render it indispensably necessary to separate ourselves therefrom. We, therefore, now the Seventh day of Second month, 1843, associate ourselves together as a religious society, in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting, under the title of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-slavery Friends."

A committee was appointed to draft a declaration of the

causes for the separation, and from its report we may quote the following passages as showing the situation from the standpoint of the new anti-slavery organization: "We have not separated from the principles of the society, nor from its testimonies and discipline, but from that body of members who have departed from our testimony against slavery, and from a due respect to the discipline. We wish it distinctly understood that we have adopted no new doctrine, nor any new system of church government." . . . "We wish not to be understood as denying that there is any anti-slavery feeling among the members of the Yearly Meeting from which we have now seceded; on the contrary, we doubt not but many of them are desirous to promote immediate and unconditional emancipation, and are only restrained from active labors in the cause by the prospective measures of the "Body" so called; measures which have been brought about chiefly by the agency of those individuals who, we believe, are too anxious to "retain a place and influence with the rulers of the land." . . .

One other thing needs to be mentioned here to make the story of the separation a little more complete. It happened in 1842 while the Yearly Meeting was in session. Henry Clay, a slaveholder, champion of colonization, and a staunch opposer of abolition, while on an electioneering tour, came to Richmond. He paid a visit to the Yearly Meeting, and, so it was said, was "cordially" received. It is also said that in his public speech which he made to the community, he alluded to the Friends as having taken the right stand on the slavery question. The anti-slavery Friends never could forget this instance, and they always pointed to it with scorn. They claimed that this instance showed that many of the Friends had become supporters of slavery and colonization, and that afterwards they voted for Clay.

During his public address in Richmond, a petition with about two thousand signatures was handed him, asking him to liberate his slaves. He answered the petitioners publicly before the large audience which had gathered to hear his speech.

There seems to be somewhat of a misunderstanding in regard to the Henry Clay affair at Richmond in 1842. In an effort

to clear up this matter, the writer here submits the report of the committee that presented the petition to Clay. This report is to be found in the issue of October 15, 1842, of the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*.[2]

"Report of the Committee who were appointed to present the following petition to Henry Clay, on his visit to this State, requesting him to emancipate his slaves, or give his reasons for not complying with their request. We the undersigned citizens of Indiana, in view of the declaration of right contained in the charter of American Independence, in view of the justice which is due from man to his fellow man; in view of all those noble principles which should characterize the Patriot, the Philanthropist and the Christian; ask you, most respectfully, to 'unloose the heavy burdens,' and that you let the oppressed under your control, who call you Master, go FREE. By doing so you would give "liberty to whom liberty is due," and do no more than justice to those under your charge, who have long been deprived by you of the sacred boon of freedom; and set an example that would result in much good to suffering and debased humanity, and do an act altogether worthy a great and a good man."

This petition was signed by nearly two thousand of the citizens of Indiana.

"Expecting that many versions will be given of the proceedings in relation to the performance of our duties, we think it proper to make a full and candid statement of the whole transaction—and also report as much of his reply as circumstances would allow us to collect—no facilities being at hand for taking his remarks, the only opportunities available were, to take notes with a pencil, in the midst of a dense concourse crowding and swaying like ocean surges.

"The first object of your committee was to make themselves acquainted with the time that would be most convenient, on the part of Henry Clay, for their reception. They accordingly addressed him the appended note:

---

[2] An anti-slavery paper published at Fountain City, Ind., 1841-1848.

"Richmond, 10th Month, 1st. 1842.

"We who are appointed a committee by a large convention of people, to present a petition to Henry Clay, signed by near two thousand citizens of Indiana; respectfully ask him to communicate the hour that such interview would be most convenient.

"Signed,

"DANIEL WORTH,
"PETER CROCKER,
"HIRAM MENDENHALL,
"SAMUEL MITCHELL.

"The two last names were substituted by the Committee in the place of H. H. Way and Israel French, who were absent. The note was presented to Ervin Reed, one of the Clay committee of arrangements; by Friends Mendenhall and Mitchell.

"Soon after, it was announced from the stand by James Rariden, that if any petitions were to be offered to H. Clay, they would be received at that place and in public, and he would reply to them in public.

"The committee accordingly repaired to the stand, and when called upon, presented their petition, through H. Mendenhall. Threats and cries of violence were heard from a few desperate characters in the crowd.

"H. Clay at this time stepped forward and earnestly entreated them to desist and offer no insult or violence to the Committee—and here your committee exceedingly regret that they were unable to retain his exact words, for they deem this the most manlike and generous part of his reply.

"The petitioners, he said, shall be treated with respect and the utmost propriety; Citizens, for my sake forebear—I do not feel, so help me God, but the kindest regard for them, and their associates. He said the act of presenting the petition, was unworthy the dignity of an American citizen, that their motives were of the most ungenerous character. That the signers were Democrats and those a shade darker. He intimated that the design of the petitioners was to use influence against him.

"He adverted to the circumstances under which he came here.

"While on a visit to Indianapolis, passing through—he could not go in the air, nor by water, but must travel by land—and must pass through this place. That it was beneath the dignity of an American citizen to petition his equal, petitions are from inferiors to superiors, or to those having absolute power.

"The petitions should have been brought to Ashland.

"Suppose you should be passing through my country and I should ask you to give up your land? But I am aware you make a distinction in the different kinds of property.

"We are in the midst of slavery, fastened on us by Great Britain. The 'declaration of rights,' of which you speak, was not intended by those who formed that document as you interpret it.

"Thirteen of the States that formed that Declaration held slaves at that very time. Yours is a new interpretation. Had those sentiments been understood as you understand them, we should all have been slaves to this very day.

"There is not a man who deplores slavery more than I do.

"It is not only an evil, but a great evil. Do the abolitionists think they know more about our business than we know ourselves?

"That man is not worthy of public trust who will not regard the prejudices of the people.

"The slaves must be prepared for freedom, before they can receive that great boon, they must have moral civilization. The society of Friends take the right stand in relation to this subject.

"In those States where the slaves predominate, should the principles in your petition be granted, extermination and bloodshed would be the result.

"Yours are the revolutionary principles of Thomas Dorr of Rhode Island.

"In one year after the principles in your petition were granted, ruin, extermination, fraud and blood would be the result.

"I own about fifty slaves. I treat them kindly, ask my Charles. While in Canada he could not be prevailed upon to

leave me. He goes as well clad, as well shod, and I believe is as honest a man as Mr. Mendenhall.

"Then I have a poor helpless old woman and her family, what shall I do with them? What does the petition ask me to do with them? Turn them out to starve? I have another class I cannot force freedom upon.

"Charles' father is the only piece of this kind of property that I hold by inheritance.

"But I consider the slaves as my property. We have an idea that whatever the law secures to us as property, is property.

"But I will make you and your associates a proposition,—if you will raise $15,000 the present value of the slaves as a capital for them to commence with.

"Here friend Mendenhall, who had been sitting under a cataract of abusive eloquence that had been pouring down upon him in torrents, such eloquence as Henry Clay, could use, arose and very calmly replied, 'Let us understand you, is this money to be given to the slaves, or to H. Clay.'

"The sentiment was then repeated that it was for the slaves.

"State rights, he continued, the states have their rights and you have no more right to interfere with them than you have with foreign nations.

"Slavery is our misfortune, not our fault; but whether our misfortune or our fault, it is none of your business.

"I recommend for the example of abolitionists, the Society of Friends, Joseph Gurney (Joseph John Gurney, we suppose) and the Society to which he belongs, sympathize with their white brethren as well as their black. They do not denounce and condemn.

"Your efforts have put back the cause of emancipation fifty years."

"Your committee have endeavored to give in all cases the *main ideas,* and as much as possible the language of the speaker; but owing to the circumstances to which reference has already been made, we have fallen far short of reporting the whole discourse. If any of the sentiments are not correctly reported, we shall be happy to be corrected. Those who tell us of our faults

are our friends in this matter. He concluded his reply by a retrospect of the sentiments advanced in his just finished political discourse, and by referring to those *great principles of freedom* for which our fathers bled. "And there lie the last remains of those principles," said friend Mendenhall, pointing to the roll of the petition lying before him.

"Signed,

"Peter Crocker,
"Samuel Mitchell,
"Daniel Worth,
"Hiram Mendenhall."

In an editorial on Clay's reply to the petition, amongst other things, the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, of November 5, 1842, said:

"The eulogy pronounced by him on the Society of Friends respecting their course on slavery and abolition, coming as it does from a slaveholder, the advocate of interminable slavery, and the determined opposition of every scheme of emancipation, is a gross libel on true Quakerism. It is a scorching satire on the Society. . . .

"But perhaps it was only intended to procure Quaker votes. We rejoice in believing that a considerable number, (we wish we could say all) will look upon such praise as great scandal, and manifest by their conduct that their votes will not be cast for a slaveholder, at any price."

This same paper on December 10, 1842, published an article entitled, "Misrepresentations Corrected." This was done in an effort to clear up the Henry Clay affair. It runs as follows:

"We think it but an act of common justice to all parties concerned, to correct some erroneous statements that have been made respecting the late visit of Henry Clay to Richmond, his reception by Friends, and the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting.

"Such as, that the Yearly Meeting censured all its members who signed the petition asking him to liberate his slaves, and appoint a committee to inform him that that body disapproved of the petition. That when he attended the meeting he

was placed on the foremost seat,—that at the conclusion of the meeting he was surrounded by throngs of men and women, eager to exchange salutations with the slaveholding duelist, and kissed by a number of the latter. And that the clerk of the Yearly Meeting took him in his carriage and drove three times around the house in order to exhibit him to the gazing throng.

"The facts in the case as we have them from personal knowledge, and from the statements of persons of veracity upon whom we can rely, are, we believe simply these,—

"A few Friends (we say not by what authority; but not sent by the Yearly Meeting) waited on Henry Clay to inform him that the Society had no hand in, and disapproved of the presentation of the petition.

"And though the statement that has been made in the public papers, of the appointment by the Yearly Meeting of a Committee to wait on H. Clay is incorrect, it is evident from the whole transaction that the intelligence carried to him by the Friends was an expression of the feelings of the ruling part of the Society, and was received by him as such.

"The statement respecting what took place at the meeting which Henry Clay attended seems to be partly correct and partly erroneous. We have made strict inquiry of those who were present, and have received the following information, which we think may be relied on as correct.

"The clerk of the Yearly Meeting took or sent his carriage to Clay's lodgings, on First-day morning to convey him to the meeting. . . .

"The company arrived some time previous to the sitting of the meeting. It is common at these large meetings to keep the doors shut until the hour arrives. But when Clay and his suit arrived, the north door of the men's apartment was opened, and they entered. Clay and some of his particular Whig friends were conducted to the head of the seat commonly designated as the second gallery immediately in front of the seat occupied by the foreign ministers in attendance, and the clerk of the meeting took his seat by their side. At the conclusion of the meeting, a scene took place which we believe is altogether unprecedented

in the history of the Society. A member of the Yearly Meeting, a minister of great notoriety, who has signalized himself in stirring up opposition to abolition Friends, arose and commenced the business of a formal introduction of the distinguished slaveholder to his friends; proclaiming aloud 'This is Henry Clay—this is Friend ————, this is Friend ————,' etc. Friends of both sexes gathered around to shake his hand. When this part of the scene had closed the clerk took the slaveholder by the arm and conducted him out of the house, to the carriage near the north door and handed him in, taking a seat with him. The carriage was driven around the east end of the house and along the south side on their way to the City. This we believe was all the driving around the house that took place, and it does not appear that this was done for the purpose of show. These appear to be about the facts of Clay's attendance of the meeting. And though we believe that such special honors, such marked attentions were never before publicly paid by Friends to any man however good or great, as were on this occasion paid to this prince of slaveholders, yet it may be pleaded as an excuse that the peculiar circumstances of the case justified it. It was probably thought justifiable and necessary to make this extraordinary demonstration of respect, in order to evince to Henry Clay the determined hostility of Friends to abolitionism, and their unwavering attachment to Whigism, of which he was looked up to as the representative head.

"Respecting the kissing, so much talked about, it was not done in the meeting house that we know of. All the information we have on the subject, that we can rely on is this.

"Henry Clay being at the temperance boarding house, and about to take leave of the place, when he came down stairs, a considerable number of females, old and young, Orthodox and Hicksites, were arranged in a line, along which he passed from one end to the other, giving each an affectionate parting kiss."

On December 21, 1842, the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* said:

"That a number of leading members of the Yearly Meeting did wait on Henry Clay during his stay in Richmond, is not

disputed; but whether they were delegated or not, we cannot say, and if delegated, it was by conference held for that and other similar purposes, and not by the Yearly Meeting. And whether delegated or not, it is doubtful whether they used the language imputed to them.

"There is no doubt that he (Henry Clay) 'made a decided impression' on the people, the Friends as well as others, but that it was in his favor is very questionable. If it does not lose him thousands of votes we will agree that we have been mistaken."

It is claimed by many that Clay's answer to the petition at Richmond was one of the principal causes, if not the real cause, of the beginning of his political downfall.

In view of what Clay said in regard to the treatment of his slaves, we offer the following for what it may be worth:

The Bugle, at Salem, Ohio, published the following as coming from the south part of the State, dated January 23,—Liberator—

"A slave of Henry Clay's is here on his way to Canada. He says a difficulty occurred between him and the overseer, and that he applied to his Master to interfere on his behalf, who directed the overseer to give him *three hundred lashes*.[3] After giving him one hundred and fifty, by much importunity he released him for the time being, and he made his escape."[3]

The thing we are concerned with here, however, is what the Clay episode and the petition in particular may have had to do with the division in the Yearly Meeting. Some of the leaders of the Yearly Meeting told Clay that the petition had not come from the Friends as a movement, on the part of the meeting, but that it had come from the anti-slavery Friends of Newport. The anti-slavery Friends, therefore, took occasion to say that the Yearly Meeting was opposed to the petition, and that the members were taking sides with Clay. There must have been a misunderstanding in the case on both sides, for the petition originated in a meeting of the State Anti-slavery Society at Newport, and had not come from an organization of anti-slavery Friends

[3] *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, March 4, 1846.

proper. To be sure, many anti-slavery Friends belonged to this Society and had a part in getting up the petition, but this did not necessarily make it a Friends' measure. Hence, members of the Yearly Meeting were really right in telling Clay that it was not a movement on the part of the Yearly Meeting. The whole affair seems to have been misconstrued, and as a result quite a feeling was created on both sides.

From what has been said thus far it would seem that the complaint of the anti-slavery Friends was fairly well founded, but nevertheless there is much to be said in defense of the old Yearly Meeting. For instance, in defense of their action in regard to the Clay episode, they said that the petition had been produced for effect only, and that it had been signed by men, women, children and colored people, and further that it was only a trick played by Clay's political enemies for the purpose of galling him before the eyes of the audience. They said that it was not wrong to show such a distinguished man courtesy, and that the Anti-Slavery Friends were wrong when they said that everyone "made" over him. Osborn, himself, in giving advice to the anti-slavery Friends, later said: "I wish it distinctly understood that I do not blame them or any body else for shaking hands with Henry Clay, provided they do it in a friendly and becoming manner; but that to which I call your attention is the construction you put upon it."

When the "disqualified members" were not allowed to take part in the important business of the meeting, they demanded that the cause for such treatment be given. This was denied them. The members of the old Yearly Meeting said that such a course had never been the practice, and that the anti-slavery members should not have asked for the causes, for it was out of place to bring up such affairs before the regular business meeting.

The anti-slavery Friends said that the old Yearly Meeting had lost its testimony against slavery, and that it had become pro-slavery. This charge, however, is unwarranted, because it is readily seen from the minutes of the Yearly Meeting that the same general line of work concerning the negroes was being kept up. The report of the committee on the concerns of the people

of color for 1844 shows that during the previous year a deputation had been sent to St. Louis to procure the emancipation of fourteen colored people, and that the liberation of another colored man had been obtained. Education was being kept up and colored people were being cared for as usual. The usual testimony against slavery is also shown in the answers to the queries.

It is true that the separation came about as a result of the slavery question, but its real cause lay in the fact that certain members felt that their rights and liberties were being encroached upon by a part of the organization in control of the Yearly Meeting. After an antagonistic feeling had once been stirred up by these arbitrary measures of the "body in control," it was easy enough for each side to find something to say about the other.

There was a difference of opinion as to the methods of fighting slavery. One faction favored the more radical abolition methods of the time, while the other attempted a conservative, quiet course of procedure. There is no doubt that one faction was as conscientious in its belief as the other. There was a wide difference of opinion amongst anti-slavery people throughout the country as to the best ways for fighting slavery, and what happened in the Yearly Meeting is only a reflection of this general state of confusion. The question as to which was the better method, the radical or the conservative, must always remain a difficult one to answer. There are those who tell us that the agitators themselves precipitated the war, that they would not let the slavery question rest for sober judgment; while on the other hand it is said that the conflict was inevitable, and that it was useless and impossible to try to check agitation because the very nature of the evil inherent in the system itself would not allow of any cessation in the struggle.

The principal features of the separation have been given, and it is needless to prolong the discussion here. The struggle against slavery was intensified because of the separation. The more radical Friends now felt free to go their length in any abolition movement they might choose to follow, while at the same time the Indiana Yearly Meeting had been newly aroused to its sense of duty.

Earlham College.

A VISIT TO DANIEL WEBSTER IN 1836.[1]

BY JOSEPH FOULKE.

"The evening before we left Washington, by the kind attention of Dr. Sewel[?], we had a private interview with Daniel Webster at the doctor's house in company with his private family. Joseph Parrish opened to him very clearly and graphically, the nature and object of our mission to Washington. He enquired of Daniel (calling him by his proper name in a kind and dignified manner) what was the reason that Slavery was so sore a subject that it must not be touched or meddled with at all in Congress. Daniel replied, "That it would have to be touched and be handled without gloves before long in Congress." He gave us a reason that it had been proclaimed by a member from South Carolina on the floor of the United States Senate a few years ago when this soreness was not so much felt, and when members could speak their minds without fear of their popularity, "That Slavery was the darkest stain, and foulest blot on the United States Government, that Religion was against Slavery, that morality was against it, that sound policy was against it, that public sentiment (fairly understood) was against it, and now (though it was not for him to judge why that member was for supporting the discussion in Congress) Slavery is as great and mighty an evil as ever. And those mighty and tremendous agents were constantly pressing against it, and that its downfall was certain. For great as the monster may be it cannot and will not stand before such an array of power."

It was remarked that it was very gratifying to us to hear those views entertained so in accordance with the doctrines inculcated by the wisest and best of men. He answered that he had clearly seen the last ten years the impolicy of Slavery, and the rapid march of those agents mentioned against it, but he expressed some doubt about Congress having much honor in its final

---

[1] From "Some Account of the Life and Experiences of Joseph Foulke." Mss., pp. 100-102.

overthrow; for, said he, "The only peaceable way to overcome it is upon the principles expressed in your excellent memorial which was read to-day. But when I reflect that retributive justice may take place I am made to tremble." And his whole frame shook; but on reflecting a moment, he said, "A member from Louisiana told me the other day, as we were walking to the Capitol, that a few more white frosts would abolish Slavery in Louisiana without Congress having any honor in the premises." He then observed "That there was a great deal of difference between a Pennsylvania farmer (we were all Pennsylvanians) and a Louisiana Planter. That the farmers were virtually the bone and sinews of government, that they were beholden to nothing but Providence and their own industry for the support of themselves and families, that from the proceeds of their labor they maintained themselves, and the surplus they take to market; if they get a good price, very well, if not they were not materially affected, for they are careful to reserve enough for their own wants, and they have only to retrench their expenditures in the mere conveniences and superfluities of life out of their surplus, neither of which are absolutely necessary. But not so with the Louisiana Planter who has nothing to depend upon but his slaves and his crop. For the necessaries of life for himself, his family, and his slaves, he is dependent upon the North, the East, and the West. Take away his crop by a frost or a blight or anything else, and he is in a dilemma. He has no dependence, his slaves especially, are an incalculable burden to him. Hence it was that the richest planters were ruined." He concluded his remarks prophetically by observing that the mighty master of Slavery was tottering under the immense pressure of agents that are very much out of the control of men.

AN ANECDOTE OF THOMAS SHILLITOE.

[Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836) was one of the best known Friends of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He traveled widely in Great Britain, on the Continent, and in North America. He was one of those Friends who had "remarkable

experiences," and his "Journal," published in full by his special request, has many most interesting and even entertaining accounts of his experiences, and of interviews with men and women of all classes from the monarch to the peasant. His visit to America was made when he was past seventy. He played a prominent part during the years 1827-1829, and being very strongly evangelical in his views he roused, it might almost be said, the resentment of those who differed from him, the fact that he was an Englishman adding to the feeling.[1] He was almost exactly three years in America, as he landed 9th month 8, 1826, and sailed for England on his return, 8th month 8, 1829. During his stay he visited all or nearly all of the meetings of Friends in America.

He was a reformer and especially strong against liquor dealing and drinking and slavery. He personally spoke to liquor dealers, slave-owners and slave-dealers, and did not hesitate to tell President John Quincy Adams in a personal interview of the evils in America which needed redress. But what he said was so simply and sincerely put that he rarely gave offence. He used very plain language, and it is reported that he once told the Friends in a New York City meeting that "The Devil is so near some of you that I can hear the swish of his tail."

The incident related in the following account without doubt took place on Thomas Shillitoe's first visit to Nantucket, where he landed 6th month 26th, 1827. It reveals his eccentric qualities.—EDITOR.]

Some time in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, Thomas Shillitoe visited the Island of Nantucket. He went unattended, and, landing on the wharf, asked to be shown to the house of a Friend. It happened that on the wharf, with others, was the son of one of the members of Friends' Meeting who was known to entertain many visiting Friends. To his house Thomas Shillitoe was promptly taken, and the family being at dinner, they went directly into the dining-room, where with a simplicity

[1] The character and extent of the personal feeling existing at the time is very fully shown in Shillitoe's Journal.

which was a marked characteristic of the man, Friend Shillitoe himself drew a chair to the table, saying as he sat down, "I eat neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, but would like a few of those beans." His visit on the Island was a forceful one, and his influence became traditional, and the generations which followed learned to venerate the man and his works. A drawing in miniature of Thomas Shillitoe and of Elizabeth Robson[2] framed hang upon the library wall of a great-granddaughter of the Friend with whom he "lodged" in Nantucket.

Great as he was in his spiritual influence, his timidities were very marked, and it is reported of him that he always ran over a bridge.[3]

TESTIMONIAL OF SELECT SCHOOL TO SARAH EDDY, 1804.

[The following document has come into the possession of the editor, and seems worthy of insertion in the BULLETIN. The original is on a single sheet of letter paper, and is carefully written in a distinct regular hand, while the signatures are for the most part in the unformed writing of youth. It is not clear what school is referred to in this paper, but it may have been one under the care of Arch Street Meeting. The rather formal and stilted style of the testimonial suggests the idea that one of the teachers may have been consulted when it was drawn up. Sarah Eddy has not been identified.—EDITOR.]

---

[2] Elizabeth Robson was a prominent English Friend who was in America at the same time as Thomas Shillitoe.

[3] It is to be regretted that a better life of Thomas Shillitoe has not been written. The original "Journal," edited by A. R. Barclay, two volumes, London, 1839, has much repetition, and would be far more attractive if at least one-third were omitted. William Tallack, in 1867, published "Thomas Shillitoe, the Quaker Missionary and Temperance Pioneer," London, but it leaves much to be desired, and is out of print. Two or three tracts also have been written concerning him.

THE TESTIMONIAL.

Our esteemed Schoolmate Sarah Eddy being about to leave for Great Brittain, we are induced from her orderly conduct whilst with us, to give her a few lines as a token of regard, accompanied with sincere wishes for her safe arrival at the destined Port, and that the distance which will part us, may not cancel that friendship, which commenced in youthful days at school.

Signed by the pupils of Select School 10th mo. 29th, 1804.

Mary Ann Eddy	Hannah Bacon	Martha Trasel
Susanna Vaux, jur.	Hannah Willis	Sarah Sheppard
Hannah Howell	Ruth James	Hannah Perot
Eliza H. Sansom	Mary Pearson	Sarah Poultney
Esther Fisher	Margaretta Price	Eliza Russell, junr.
Jane Clark	Ann Bryant	Hannah Griffitts
Abby Griffitts	Rebecca W. Morris	Elizabeth Shoemaker
Mary Harlan	Hannah L. Howell	Susan Smith
Mary Lewis	Hannah Richardson	Sarah Yarnall
Lydia Poultney, junr.	Rebecca Drinker	Ann Collins
Rebecca C. Thompson	Ann Hopkins	Mary Taylor, junr.

ELIZABETH HOOTON, "FIRST QUAKER WOMAN PREACHER" (1600-1672).[1]

Those who have attempted any research in regard to this earliest woman minister among Friends will appreciate this carefully prepared historical monograph with the suggestive and informing notes by Norman Penney.

It seems at first thought rather extraordinary that over two hundred and forty years have been allowed to pass, and a life

---

1 "Elizabeth Hooton, First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672)." By Emily Manners, with notes, etc., by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.Soc. London, Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E. C. Supplement No. 12, Journal of Friends' Historical Society, 1914. 9x6, viii, 95 pp. 4s.

so devoted and vigorous, and one occupying a distinctively leading position, should have been left with such limited biographies. But as we turn the pages of this sketch, we are soon impressed with the amount of diligent research and labor which has been necessary to sift out and arrange, in consecutive periods, the unusual events of her strenuous life.

The supplement, containing less than one hundred pages, is divided into four chapters, which treat respectively of Elizabeth Hooton's "Early Services in England, First Visit to New England, Second Visit to New England and Closing Years." Exhaustive examination of Nottinghamshire Parish Registers and search of Skegby Manor Rolls, bring to light some interesting family data. Before meeting with George Fox in 1646-7, Elizabeth Hooton seems to have been in membership with the Baptists, and from some evidence was probably a preacher among them before she became the "First Woman Preacher Among Friends."

From the beginning of her public services "bonds and persecutions awaited her," and in her later life cruelties so severe that it seems unbelievable for a woman of her age to endure them and survive. Elizabeth Hooton had an intense temperament, and, in those sad days of religious intolerance, the bitter spirit of the times developed a type of speech that was more fervid than courteous, and her denunciations of wrongs were often forcibly expressed.

There is a freshness and personal coloring to some of her early letters given, that is decidedly pleasing, especially those written from "Yorke" and "Linckoln Castell," telling of the sad conditions of the English prisons. These show her intelligent grasp of the subject and the practical character of her suggestions, and her biographer fittingly says:

"Her protest against strong drink, her plea for the separation of the sexes and for the employment of the prisoners, read more like an appeal from Elizabeth Fry, two centuries later."

There is a vein of true pathos in her recital of the terrible persecutions and inhumanities witnessed during her New Eng-

land visits. That she so frequently seemed to rise superior to all adverse conditions is marvelous.

The closing chapters of the monograph show how thoroughly the biographer is in sympathy with her subject, especially in her account of Elizabeth Hooton's third and last voyage with Elizabeth Miers in the "Catch *Industry*," as one of George Fox's little missionary bands of thirteen Friends. The crossing was long and tedious. Eight weeks to Barbadoes! The "Cabbines" were cramped, and there were days of oppressive midsummer heat. But though over 70 years old, Elizabeth Hooton with surprising energy took up her work on this island, writing letters and "giving her testimony concerning Truth." After three months here, she, with George Fox and others, passed to Jamaica. Here, while in the midst of active religious service, she was taken ill and very suddenly died. The event is thus touchingly noted by the author:

"And so, in the thick of the fight, far from her home in the quiet Nottinghamshire village she 'fell on sleep.' Though her story is so far removed from our own time, something of that peace enters into our souls, in the knowledge that her long and strenuous life ended in a great calm."

DEATH OF GEORGE VAUX (1832-1915).

Just as the BULLETIN is going to press, information has been received of the sudden death of George Vaux (1832-1915) on Fourth month 20. He was one of the founders of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, and was always an interested member. He was perhaps the best informed Friend in Philadelphia on the history and associations of its most interesting buildings and institutions. The interment was on the 23d instant in the old Morris graveyard at Bryn Mawr, Pa., by the side of his wife, who was Sarah Morris.

His interest in things historical will be much missed by our Society.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1915.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Second month 23, 1915, in the Friends' Meeting House, Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, with about seventy-five members present.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance in the treasury of $166.67 on First month 10, 1915.

The Nominating Committee presented a report, which was satisfactory, and the nominees were elected. (See page 57.)

Amelia M. Gummere made an interesting report regarding the new edition of John Woolman's Journal. The work of collation of the different manuscripts has been completed. Most of the persons mentioned in the Journal have been fully identified, and investigations are being made in England which will doubtless throw much additional light on John Woolman's visit to England and his last days. It has been thought that no relic of any residence of John Woolman was now in existence, but papers have been discovered which make it very probable that he did reside in a house now at Mount Holly. It is likely that it will seem best to include the Essays of John Woolman in the volume to be published. This would delay the publication a few months, but the volume would have greater interest and value, as it would give all the writings of Woolman known to be in existence. As there are comparatively few of these, the book would not be of undue size.

Caroline W. Smedley, delegate from the Society to the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, held at Harrisburg, First month 21, 1915, reported her attendance, and that the Federation welcomed the Society as one of its members.

Watson W. Dewees suggested the desirability of the Society having an executive secretary who could devote more time to

developing and furthering the interests of the Society. The subject was referred to the favorable consideration of the Council.

The President introduced Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, principal of the Central High School of Philadelphia, who addressed the Society on "Fragments of Early Philadelphia History."

OFFICERS OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1915-1916.

President, Davis H. Forsythe

Vice-Presidents, Isaac Sharpless
Amelia M. Gummere

Secretary-Treasurer, Mary S. Allen

Councillors Serving 1914-1915

John T. Morris
Walter Brinton
Francis R. Taylor
Hannah P. Morris
Lucy C. Shelmire
Alice H. Yarnall

Councillors Serving 1915-1916

Caroline W. Smedley
Bernard Waring
Walter W. Haviland
Howard E. Yarnall
Mary Anna Jones
Susanna W. Lippincott

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Life of Robert Spence Watson. By his nephew, Percy Corder. Illustrated. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. 9x6¼. 327 pp. 10s. 6d.

Three times within eighteen months has it fallen to the lot of the BULLETIN to review the biography of a British Friend distinguished for his participation in public and political life. It is a worthy trio—John Bright, John Edward Ellis, and now, Robert Spence Watson—each has been a credit to his country, and a man to be held up as an example to follow in straightforwardness, earnestness and unselfishness.

Robert Spence Watson (1837-1911) was by inheritance, upbringing, and choice of residence a north of England man. He was a lifelong resident of Newcastle-on-Tyne or its suburbs, and was one of its most honored citizens. He declined all state or municipal office, believing that he could be of more service to his city and country by being free and untrammeled. He was a remarkable instance of a man being a party leader of great influence in his party, and yet maintaining throughout his active public life, lasting over thirty years, the highest ideals of personal, social and political life, and being honored and respected by men of all ranks and parties. He was always a strong Liberal, a staunch advocate of education, freedom, all moral causes; and also an Irish Home Ruler by conviction.

He numbered among his friends all the great Liberals of the latter part of the nineteenth century, and was intimate, among others, with John Bright, John Morley, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Earl Grey, Sir Edward Grey, Joseph Cowen and James Bryce.

He was not simply a politician, but was also deeply and actively interested in all matters of public welfare, literary, educational, scientific and social. He was arbiter in many labor disputes, and had the reputation of having satisfactorily settled more labor disputes than any other man in the north of England. He was concerned in more than one hundred cases of this kind.

The book is a study, not a normal biography, for it is not written chronologically, but the reader is given pictures of the man from different points of view, such as: "Friendships and Hospitality," "Educational Work," "The Arbiter in Council," "Political Life," "The National Liberal Federation," etc. The result is satisfactory in many ways, but it does not trace the growth of the man from year to year, nor does it afford much idea of his inner life and interests. The literary style of the author is sometimes infelicitous; but, after all deductions are made, it must be recognized as a truthful picture of a noble life. A number of interesting portraits and other illustrations, a bibliography, and a good index are valuable features.

The Annual Monitor for 1915. Being an Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, from October 1, 1913, to September 30, 1914. John Bellows, Eastgate, Gloucester, 1914. 5½x3½. Pp. x, 207. 1s. 6d.

This is the one hundred and third issue of this publication. The general character of this annual is so well known that little comment is needed. Owing to ill-health, Francis A. Knight (since deceased), the late editor, resigned, and Joseph J. Gill, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, was appointed his successor. There are fewer names than usual which are familiar to American Friends. Only those of Joel Bean, and Helen B. Harris (wife of J. Rendel Harris) have been noted.

In reading the sketches in this book one cannot fail to be impressed with the work of many lives scarcely known outside their own town or neighborhood, and yet lives which have been a power for righteousness. It is such men and women who are the salt of the earth. Twenty-two portraits add to the interest of the little volume. Of the 299 entries, 160 are of deaths at an age over seventy.

•

The Free Spirit, Realisations of Middle Age, with a Note on Personal Expression. Henry Bryan Binns. London, 1914. A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn. New York, B. W. Huebsch, Fifth Avenue, 1914. 175 pp. 12 mo. $1.50.

This is a book difficult to review with satisfaction either to the reviewer or reader. It is an exposition in verse and prose of the author's views respecting individual freedom of thought and action, and the right relation to be preserved regarding other persons. Perhaps a few quotations will best indicate the author's meaning. "Freedom for the individual is the realisation, the achieving of his inner purpose. But that is precisely his function as a member of the whole." (Page 143.) "Freedom depends upon individualisation. It is the one foundation upon which a permanent human structure can be raised." (Page 158.) "The free man keeps his place in the common purpose." (Page 164.) "He is distinct but not hostile, he refuses to conform in order that he may contribute." (Page 165.) The same doctrine is set forth in the verse which is sometimes obscure, and not infrequently guiltless of melody. Unrhymed verse (if all of it may be called verse) needs clear, vital thought and melody of some kind, to make it live. Were the following lines written as prose, one could hardly suspect them of being intended for verse:

THE PINES.

Wet, southwest gale, tumultuous, bough-snapper!
Weighting the branches with rain to take them at a disadvantage,
Rough playfellow, from whose grip
The pine-stems gleam all strange and wonderful,
Luminous as a Chinese silk with green and sulphur lichen, and shining with bright nimble drops,
They do not grudge you a few broken branches! (Page 85.)

The following is in his best style:

FILIAL PIETY.

Would you have him return and remain
In the place where your failure abides,
You whom he loves, and is fain
To ease, and comfort your pain?
Or shall he go forth with great strides
Towards that light afar off you, that hides
The goal that you failed of attaining—
That he too must fail of, remaining ———? (Page 76.)

In My Youth. From the Posthumous Papers of Robert Dudley. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1914. 9x5, x, 493 pp. $1.35.

This is an anonymous story, for "Robert Dudley" is a pseudonym. Its object is to picture life in the backwoods of Indiana in the '40's or '50's, and more particularly life among the Friends, mostly emigrants from North Carolina. In the main the author is doubtless fairly accurate in the picture of frontier life with its scantiness of living, its rudeness of surroundings, its ignorance and dislike of the world outside, and its narrowness of religious belief or perhaps its absence of spiritual religion. There is some inconsistency, however, in pronunciation and language. The intelligence of the head of the family and his broadening in so marked a way after he was fifty, hardly tallies with the ignorance of the rest of the family and his apparently easy acceptance of it. Neither does it seem consistent to speak by name of Barnabas Hobbs, a well-known Indiana Friend of the last generation, and in the same breath of an "English Friend," Benjamin *Seafoam*, when Benjamin *Seebohm*, of England, did visit Indiana in the period depicted. Why should the real name be used in the one case and a transparently modified one in the other?

Whether the author intends the reader to infer that the Quakerism

of the book was typical of the Quakerism of Indiana at the time, is not clear. If he does, there must have been many striking exceptions, for the documents issued by Indiana Yearly Meeting in the same period are certainly equal to those of any contemporary Yearly Meeting in America.

The actual story is slight. It is that of the growth from childhood to youth amid such surroundings as have been already indicated, of an intelligent, imaginative, sensitive, inquiring, but timid boy. The book will be most appreciated by those who live in the "Middle West" near the scene of the story. The author would seem to be one who, familiar with one type of Quakerism in his youth, had left the Society in early manhood, and was not acquainted with other phases.

Elizabeth Hooton, First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners, with Notes, etc., by Norman Penney, F.S.A.,F.R.Hist.S., London, Headley Brothers, 1914. Supplement 12 to the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society. 9x5, viii, 95 pp. (American Agents, Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York; Grace W. Blair, Media, Pa.)

A review of this valuable work will be found elsewhere in the present number of the BULLETIN.

Friends and the War. Addresses Delivered at a Conference of the Society of Friends and Others, Held at Llandudno, September 25 to 30, 1914. 1s., net.

The Early Friends and War. An Historical Study. By Frederick W. Pim. Price, 6d.

The Church's Opportunity in the Present Crisis. By Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A. Price, 2d.

The European War. By the editor of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner.* Price, 2d.

Foundations of National Greatness. By William Charles Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. Third special edition. Cloth, 2s., net.

Christ and Peace. A Discussion of Some Fundamental Issues Raised by the War. Edited by Joan M. Fry. Cloth, 2s., net.

A Quaker View of the War. By Henry T. Hodgkin. Price, 1d.

William Penn's Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe. Reprinted from the original edition. John Bellows, Gloucester. Price, 2d.

The above named books and pamphlets have all been issued since the beginning of the great European War. They are but examples of others of like character which have been called forth during the terrible crisis in Europe. They represent the Quaker views of war and peace. Prob-

ably there has never been a time since the beginning of the Society of Friends that the subjects of war and peace from a religious and spiritual point of view have been more ably and fearlessly treated. It can hardly be doubted that these and other publications of similar character will have a wide and lasting influence for peace. All are published or handled by Headley Brothers, London, and they may be secured through Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York City.

A Quaker Apostle. In Memoriam. John T. Dorland. By Wm. King Baker. Gaspereau, Cumberland Park, Acton, W. London, 1914. 7½x5. 45 pp. Illustrated.

A Forest Idyll and Other Poems. By Wm. King Baker. London, Gaspereau, Cumberland Park, Acton, W. 1914. 7½x5. 106 pp. Illustrated.

These little books are essays in verse on Friendly and nature themes by the author of "A Quaker Warrior, William Hobson," "Acton," and other works. They will be most attractive to those who are familiar with the persons and scenes described.

Friends Ancient and Modern. London, Headley Brothers. 1d. each.

The latest issue of this excellent series of tracts is "Levi Coffin." It is a brief compilation by Augustus Diamond from the autobiography of Levi Coffin, and other sources, of some interesting and exciting incidents in the life of that great abolitionist and officer of the "underground railroad." The work of compilation has been skilfully done.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number for First month, 1915, like its predecessors, has many articles and items of much interest. That most attractive to American readers will doubtless be the paper by Ella Kent Barnard, of West Grove, Pa., on "The Real People of the House of the Seven Gables." The Journal can be obtained of Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York.

EPISTLES OF EARLY FRIENDS.—It is welcome news that Supplement No. 13 to the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society will be a collection of about eighty letters of early Friends existing in manuscript in the library of Devonshire House. The whole collection of which the eighty are a part, will "be copied and printed *verb. et lit.*," and will be published as supplements to the Journal. The subscription price for No. 13 will be three shillings (75 cents), to be raised after publication to four shillings and six pence ($1.25).

"DEED OF MANUMISSION TO A FEMALE SLAVE, 1826."—Know all men by these presents that I Wills Cowper, of the county of Nansemond, State of Virginia & at present in Emmittsburg in the county of Frederick, in Maryland, for and in consideration of faithful services rendered me by a certain female slave aged about 18 years of a very light complexion, with blue eyes and light hair, named Sally, and further, from considerations of Humanity, I the said Wills Cowper do manumit, liberate & set free the said above named slave. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 20th day of September. Upon this condition previously to be performed by her, that she binds herself, or is bound as an apprentice to some respectable person of the Society of Friends with the consent of Ellis Yarnall of the City of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania, and until said act of binding as an apprentice is performed by the female slave Sally this paper writing to be and remain an (illegible) in the hands of the said Ellis Yarnall before mentioned.

WILLS COWPER (Seal.)

Test Henry G. Waters.

The above and foregoing paper writing was duly acknowledged before me a Justice of the Peace for the town of Emmittsburg before mentioned by the Subscriber thereto Wills Cowper in proper person September 20th 1826.—Henry G. Waters.

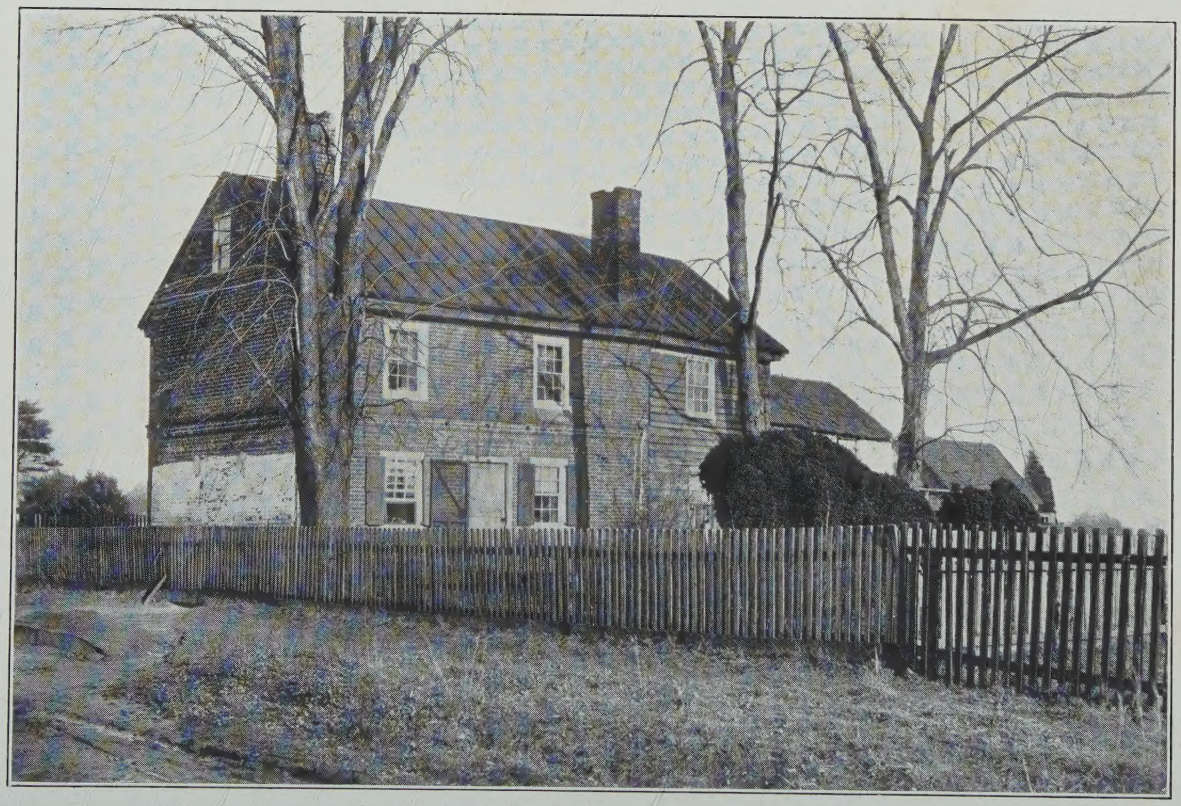
Ellis Yarnall (1757-1847) was a prominent and valued Friend of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The act of apprenticeship was doubtless needful as the slave was only eighteen. The fact that the manumission "paper writing" came down in the Yarnall family raises some doubt as to whether the stipulation mentioned in the deed was fulfilled.

YELLOW FEVER IN PHILADELPHIA, 1793.—Extract from a letter of Thomas Say, of Philadelphia, dated 5th mo. 6th, 1794, and written to Alice Needham, Salem, Massachusetts, relating to the epidemic of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, during the summer and fall of 1793. "We had an awful visitation of sickness in this city (the Yellow Fever) last Fall; it began in the 8th month, and continued till the beginning of the 11th month; it appeared indeed, my dear friend, as if the Lord had given orders to the destroying Angel to go forth; during which time it was thought 5000 were removed thereby, of most ages and ranks of People, but particularly of the young and rising generation. . . .

"My son Doctr' Say, after having attended a vast number of the Sick, was taken with the disorder himself, and was reduced so low that his life was dispaired (sic) of, but it pleased the Lord to restore him again, but his dear Wife and lovely daughter near 15 years of age were carried off by it during his sickness, which was truly a sore affliction to him and us. . . .

"When I take a view of the world and contemplate the confusion which is therein, of wars and fightings, I am almost ready to conclude, that a great, a very great work is upon the wheel, and that something exceedingly important may soon come out of it, let us, therefore, stand still and see the salvation of God. It appears indeed as if the prophecies were fast fulfilling. Nation rising against nation over the earth, producing general convulsions, which may ultimately terminate in general peace; it seems truly sometimes, as if that grand day of universal peace had begun to dawn, and altho the hearts of men appear to be obdurate and selfish, yet the power of the Lord is fully sufficient, in ancient language, even of these stones to raise up children to Abraham."

CHARLES KINGSLEY AND YOUNG FRIENDS, 1857.—A young American in 1857 wrote to Kingsley asking the name of the author of "School Days at Rugby," then recently published anonymously (1856), and mentioning that a relative of the inquirer, a Friend, had read the book with much pleasure, but regretted the emphasis laid upon force, and the apparent approval of fighting among boys. In reply, Kingsley wrote: "The author of 'Tom Brown' is a Mr. Hughes, Barrister at Law, an old pupil of Arnold's, and son of Jno. Hughes, Esq., of Donnington Priory, Bucks, an old friend and correspondent of Walter Scott's. I am delighted that a Friend can appreciate the book; my feeling is that just the element in it which is, in his eyes, what is unsafe, is the very one which young Friends want, viz.: that *thumos* or fierceness, which is (so Plato says) the root of all virtues, which may be turned and made useful for God as much as any other faculty, and which all the noblest Friends I have heard of have possest."



HOUSE ON BRANCH STREET, MOUNT HOLLY, NEW JERSEY. BUILT BY JOHN WOOLMAN, 1771.